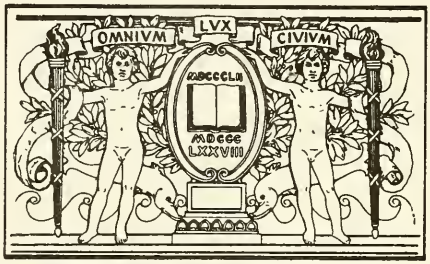

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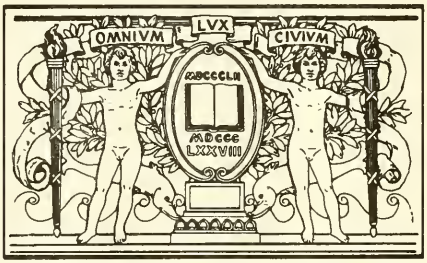

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The Case Against Zionism

Edited by
H. I. KATIBAH, S. T. M. (Harv.)

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85 WASHINGTON STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

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SOME FACTS ABOUT PALESTINE

1. THE AREA OF PALESTINE IS ABOUT 10,000 SQ. MILES, OR LESS THAN THE AREA OF MARYLAND, AND SLIGTHLY MORE THAN THAT OF MASSACHUSETTS.

2. THE POPULATION OF PALESTINE IS ABOUT 700,000 OR 70PER SQ. MILE. THE UNITED STATES WITH ALL ITS RESOURCES HAS ABOUT 35 PER SQUARE MILE, THUS PALESTINE IS TWICE AS DENSELY POPULATED. IF THE UNITED STATES HAS DEEMED IT NECESSARY FROM AN ECONOMIC STANDPOINT TO LIMIT IMMIGRATION, IT IS CLEAR THAT PALESTINE IS UNABLE TO SUPPORT AN INFLUX OF IMMIGRANTS. OVER 500,000 OF THE INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE ARE MOSLEMS AND ONLY ABOUT 65,000 ARE JEWS.

3. PALESTINE IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF SYRIA,—"THE SOUTHERN THIRD OF SYRIA". GEOGRAPHICALLY, ETHNICALLY, ECONOMICALLY, AND CULTURALLY, PALESTINE AND SYRIA ARE ONE.

4. THE LANGUAGE OF PALESTINE, LIKE THAT OF SYRIA, MESOTAMIA, EGYPT IS ARABIC, AND THE MAJORITY OF THE NATIVE PALESTINIAN JEWS KNOW NO OTHER LANGUAGE.

5. THE PREDOMINANT RACE IN PALESTINE IS THE SEMITIC RACE; SO WHATEVER MAY BE SAID ABOUT THE OPPOSITION OF THE PALESTINIANS TO ZIONISM, IT IS NOT ANTI-SEMITISM.

6. A GREAT PORTON OF THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE DESCENDED FROM A STOCK WHICH GOES BACK TO THE TIME BEFORE THE JEWS INVADED THE COUNTRY. AND HAVE REMAINED ON IT LONG AFTER THE JEWS CEASED TO BE A NATION.

7. THE JEWISH NATION IN BIBLICAL TIMES WAS ONE OF A GROUP OF SEMI-INDEPENDENT LITTLE STATES — ARAMIA, MOAB, AMMON ETC.

8. PALESTINE WAS FIRST INVADED BY THE BABYLONIANS C. 3200 B. C., AND FROM THENCE IT WAS ALTERNATINGLY UNDER THE BABYLONIANS AND EGYPTIANS TILL THE SECOND ASSYRIAN KINGDOM INVADED IT IN 722 B. C. THEN THE SECOND BABYLONIAN KINGDOM INVADED IT IN 586 B. C. THE PERSIANS SWEPT IT C. 550, THE GREEKS IN 332, AND THE ROMANS IN 63 B. C.

   THE ARABS TOOK POSSESSION OF PALESTINE IN 634 A. D.. THEN THE SELJUKIAN TURKS IN 1702 A. D., THEN THE CRUSADERS FROM 1098 TO 1187 A. D., ,THEN THE MAMLUKES OF EGYPT, THEN THE OSMANLI TURKS (OTTOMANS) WHO HAD UNBROKEN CONTROL OVER PALESTINE FROM 1516 TO 1918.

9. NEITHER THE TURKS NOR THE NATIONS THAT PRECEDED THE ARABS LEFT ANY PERMANENT MARK OF THEIR CIVILIZATIONS IN THE COUNTRY, WHICH FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES IS ARABIC IN CULTURE AND HISTORIC ASSOCIATIONS.

10. THE SENTIMENTS OF THE ARABS, INCLUDING PALESTINE WAS ON THE SIDE OF THE ALLIES IN THE GREAT WAR, AND THEY WERE PROMISED INDEPENDENCE BY THEM, BUT BECAUSE THE ARABS ARE A WEAK NATION, THE ALLIES DID NOT KEEP THEIR PROMISES TO THEM.

PART I

a kind of stabalizing element of the Turkish Monarchy! Zionism was intended to be a prop to the tottering Turkish Empire, suppressing the democratic aspirations of the people on one hand and ensuring fair play among European competitors on the other.

In this spirit of dark, chauvinistic, opportunistic, wire-pulling, subterfuging "diplomacy" was the Balfour Declaration conceived, and Palestine, under false pretenses, and contrary to all the principles for which the Allies fought, was given to a minority of acute nationalistic Jews to be the National Home of all Jewry!

The Balfour Declaration is a bit of clever underhanded diplomacy worthy of the shrewdest politician. During the World War it insured for the Allies the loyalty and financial support of the Jews all over the world, and assured England of a permanent suzerainty over the southern portion of Syria for the protection of the Suez Canal, which is the spinal cord of England's colonistic empire. The latter is accomplished in so far as Zionist aspirations can never be reconciled to the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians, and consequently there is going to be constant friction between them, and England will act the part of the innocent bystander and reconciler. The world, outside would regard England as a peace maker whose presence is necessary to secure peace in the land, but those who know the facts will say with the Arab poet:

"Oh thou who givest charity out of the
price of her body,
Woe unto thee! Commit thou not adultery,
nor givest to the poor."

II.....THE RISE OF ZIONISM

RELIGIOUS — ECONOMIC — NATIONALISTIC

What is Zionism? Zionism is fundamentally an orthodox religious doctrine, which recently has put on a new nationalistic garb. Its thesis is that Judaism is a nation, a nation bound together by religious, historic sentiments, though separated by every other barrier of climate, culture, race and language. This nation, scattered all over the world, its spiritual forces subject to disintegration and its members in danger of assimiliation in the gentile world, purposes to gather itself in its old, historic home, Palestine, from which it was expelled two thousand years ago, and for which it has ever yearned and longed. There in that "old-new-land-", the Jews will find not a "night shelter" only but a permanent refuge from the withering storms of foreign influences, there the Jews are to lead a "Jewish Life", there they will interpret their national mission in terms of a new Jewish culture, and like every virile nation boast of its place in the community of nations.

Many adverse agencies helped to crystallize the Zionistic aspirations of the Jews into a definite movement with a definite program.- There was first the Russian persecutions and pogroms of 1880, then the Anti-Semitic movement which preceded and followed the Russian persecutions and finally the rise of the spirit of nationalistic discontent, which followed the French Revolution.

The Jew found himself everywhere, contributing to the culture and civilization of every country, yet nowhere was he at home, nor his efforts appreciated or felt. That was, as Pinsker and other Zionist thinkers argued, because the Jews were individuals who did not have the immunities and rights which other individuals, under national governments enjoyed and exercised. The Zionists accepted the challenge of the Anti-Semites who objected to their presence, be retorting that they too (the Zionists) were not anxious for their company and would rather withdraw from the gentile world to live their national life in their own way unmolested.

III. WHY PALESTINE?

ZIONISM IS AN ANCHRONISM; IT IS A SUPERIMPOSITION OF A DISTORTED MODERN TENDENCY ON AN IRRATIONAL ANCIENT DOCTRINE.

The roots of Zionism go back to the religious conception of the ancient Hebrew prophets, who construed the world's history in terms of the Jewish nation and its mission. The modern scholar revolts against the doctrine of a divinely chosen people, which finds no justification except in a book written by persons belonging to those chosen people themselves.

Such a doctrine on which Zionism is based, and by which alone a return to Palestine is made a necessary postultate thereof, is particularistic and "Judocentric". In the light of universal history, the Jewish claim to Palestine is very slender. The land itself was called after a different people, the Philistines, while the name Hebrew testifies to the fact that they were strangers or invaders, who had "crossed" over the Jordan to settle among an already settled people. Under Joshua and the Judges the Jews only occupied the highlands while the plains remained in the hands of the nantive Canaanites. Jerusalem itself was in the hand of the Jabussites until David wrested it from them. The whole of Palestine was under Jewish rule only from David's time to the fall of Samaria under Shalmaneezar III. in 722 B. C. or roughly 250 years. After that ,the Jews regained independence only under the restless period of the Macabbees which lasted less than a century.

At most the Jews formed a buffer state between two mighty nations, the Babylonians to the north and the Egyptians to the south. Excepting for Christianity, Judaism might have passed away unnoticed. The Jewish civilization in Palestine was purely religious while that of the Arabs who followed them was varied. The Hebrew language was the language of the conquered people and not the invading Hebrews whose ancestors came from Ur of the Chaldees. And after the Babylonian exile Aramaic, the language of the Syrians, became again the language of the Jews.

To those who object to such a modern interpretation by holding to the divine source of the Old Testament and its Judaistic point of view we will address ourselves by saying that there are conflicting and irreconcilable interpretations of the same divine inspiration. The orthodox Jews hold that the Messiah has not come yet, while the Christians hold that the Messianic expectations were fulfilled in Jesus, the Nazarene. This itself vitiates the superstructure of interpretations based on the prophecies of the Bible. For if it is not clear whether Christ did or did not come; much more ambiguous are the prophecies on the fate of the land, the time of fulfillment, the method used etc. St. Paul expected the conversion of the Jews to Christianity before the second coming of Christ, which was postulated simply because

the Utopian promises of the prophets were not fulfilled with the First Coming. To the Christians the Jews are no longer the chosen people, and the promises made the Jews was transferred to them, the spiritual sons of Abraham. Not only that, but those promises were given spiritual and alligorical interpretations, unlike the literal, nationalistic one on which the Zionists base their national claims. The Jewish Messiah was to deliver the Jews from the Romans while the Christian Messiah was the Prince of Peace who taught his followers to give to God what is God's and to Caesar what is Caesar's. One is tempted to ask from whom do modern Zionist Orthodox Jews expect their Messiah to deliver them; is it from the English in whose name they have taken a mandate over Palestine, and under whose protection they expect to live therein? This is simply to show how absurd and anachromistic the whole religious argument for Zionism is.

The Muhammadans, on the other hand, discard both interpretations as superfluous, and hold that the Koran has replaced the Torah and the Gospel, as they hold also that Muhammad was the last of the prophets. Islam appropriated unto itself all the sacred places of Palestine as well as all the prophets and patriarchs of the Old Testament in the conviction that that was the true fulfillment of Judaism. In fact Muhammad argued like St. Paul in basing his religion on Abraham who preceded Moses. The original prayer-direction of the Muhammadans was Jerusalem, but when the Jews of Medina ridiculed Muhammad's claim to prophetship and refused to compromise with him he changed it to Mecca, the original holy place of the Arabs. Jerusalem is the third holy place of the Muhammadans, next only to Mecca and Medina. In Muhammadan literature Palestine is called "the land of the prophets", and a special merit is atached to living on tis soil. Many a Moslem saint spent his life in the environs of Jerusalem. The famous Moslem theologian Al-Ghazali wrote part of his great theological work in the Mosque of Omar.

We do not deny with Prof. Friedlander* the warm attachment of the Jews to Palestine, but we deny that the Christian and Muhammadan sentiments about Palestine are not to be remotely compared with those of the Jews. Such an attitude is, in the light of history, unwarranted.

A fairminded statesman should not declare himself in favor of one or the other of these interpretations which are mutually exclusive, but should take the attitude of a jurist judging the case on its own merits by the standard of civic justice.

But setting aside the conflicts of interpretation and sentiments between the followers of the three great religions, there are serious conflicts among the Jews themselves. The strictly orthodox Jews look in askance at the activity of the Zionists, as a forcing of the hand of the Lord, and in this they rest on Holy Writ where it is said "Asshur shall not save us; we will not ride upon horses."**

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* Century Magazine April 1919, P. 805.

** See also Hos 1:7, Is 30:16 etc.

Neither Pinsker, nor Herzl considered Palestine as a necessary condition for the realization of their nationalistic schemes. Indeed the former was set against it, for he declared in his Autoemancipation,* the charter of Zionism, "We must not attach ourselves to the place where our political life was once violently interrupted and destroyed." Such a conception, however, is very far from the historic, sentimental one on which Palestinian Zionism is based; the two are conflicting and, to our minds, irreconcilable.

The modern, liberal minded Jew who would substitute the Jewish University in Jerusalem for the temple, calling it the "New Temple",** should not be loathe to abandon that fetishistic attachment to Palestine which is the cause of all the trouble and antagonism which beset Zionism to-day.

If the Jews want a national home in which their national life and culture will have an untrammeled development Palestine is not the place for them. If they are fleeing to Palestine from persecution and Anti-Semitism, they will find that persecution will meet them in intensified and bitter form in Palestine, and Anti-Semitism in the whole world will revive and become more entrenched than ever before. This is actually taking shape before our eyes.

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* Tr. by David S. Blondheim. Reprinted by the Federation of American Zionists from Maccabees Mag. X. 91.

** See article by Benjamin Ginsburg in the New Republic for June 29, 1918.

IV. FALLACIES OF ZIONISM

"ZIONISM IS THE MOST STUPENDOUS FALLACY IN JEWISH HISTORY"
— Henry Morgenthau

From every possible point of view Zionism is wrong and unjustifiable. From the political point of view it is unjust, as it is based on the annullment of the national rights of another people; from the economic point of view it is as sterile as the land on which it is foisted; from the social point of view it is provocative to the very menaces from which the Jews are trying to liberate themselves; from the historic point of view it is anachronistic and reactionary, and finally from the spirtitual point of view it is absurd and fantastic. In every sense it is a visionary scheme that could not have succeeded on its own merits, had it not fitted in the plans of the colonizing ambitions of a mighty nation. As we saw in the first section Zionism was born of the dark machinations and chauvinistic Jingoism of the pre-war politics. It is the very antithesis of the democratic principles for which the Allied nations were supposed to have fought, for the realization of which America lent its helping hand and the League of Nations was formed.

How strange does the mind of European statesmen work? It was Lloyd George who declared in Parliament, just before the Paris Conference for the discussion of the Upper Silesian problem, that the occupation of that country by German citizens for six hundred years gives them clear title to it, not to be contested or questioned by the Poles. Yet the occupation of Palestine by the natives for two thousand years, since the Jews were driven from it, is waived aside, by the government of Lloyd George, in favor of the historic claims of a handful of Jews from every quarter of the land. There is a limit to the title of property otherwise the Arabs could claim Spain, and their claim would be based on the very same grounds as that of the Zionists to Palestine.

Just why Palestine was separated from Syria is a secret for the politicians of the "closed door" school, for there is absolutely no rational reason why it should be. No historic, geographic, geologic or ethnologic proof could be furnished to justify such an action. All Biblical scholars worthy of the name are agreed on the fact that Palestine and Syria are one country.* Yet in spite of this and in spite of the repeated declaration of the natives of Syria and Palestine, as was shown by the report of the King-Crane Commission, and more recently the Syrian-Palestinian Conference in Geneva, that the two countries should not be separated, Palestine was carved from the larger body to satisfy the fantastic claims of the Zionists.

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* See opening words of the 1st chapter of George Adams Smith "Historic Geography of the Holy Land". Also Prof. Socin's article on Syria in the Enc. Brit. 9th. ed.

May we remind England again of its premier's stand towards the unity of the British Isles? If Lloyd George stands pat against the separation of Ireland from England, in spite of the protestation of the Irish, then with what sense of justice does he force a separation on a country in which there is not even a geographic boundry between the two divisions created and when such a separation is protested against by the natives as a menace to their national developement?

In this and other things Zionism fits into the order of the pre-war politics which is contrary to the spirit and ideals for which the world war was fought. How could England expect the Near East to have confidence in it in the face of such hypocrisy?

Let England consider that famous line of her poet Pope —

> "Him, only him the shield of Jove defends,
> Whose means are pure and spotless as his ends."

Nor do we think it is wise policy, judged even by the crooked standards of pre-war politics, to win the favor of a handful of Jews at the expense of enraging the whole Moslem and Christian worlds, when the safety of the "key to India", could just as well be guaranteed by befriending the Arabs and keeping good faith with them who threw their whole weight with the Allies on the Strength of the latter's promises. Had it not been for the Arabs, Palestine, perhaps, would never have fallen to the English.

On November 7th, 1918, England and France issued a joint declaration embodying their aims "in carrying on in the Near East the war let loose by Germany's ambitions". These aims were "the complete and final liberation of the people so long oppressed by the Turks, and the establishment of governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the native populations".

Prior to that on October 24th, 1915, a treaty was concluded between King Husein and the British Government represented by Sir Henry McMahon, in which the independence of the Arab states, of which Palestine is one, was recognized.

A similar declaration was made by General Allenby on the 14th of November, 1919, by Premier Briand before the French Chamber of Deputies on November 3rd, 1915; by the Allies in reply to President Wilson's note on October 10th, 1917; by Monsieur Ribaut on May 22nd, 1917; by the French Chamber of Deputies on the night of June 4th, 1917; by the French Senate on June 6th, 1917, by Premier Lloyd George at Glasgow on June 29th, 1917.

Are these, all, to be considered scraps of paper, by nations who fought Germany because she considered her sacred treaties scraps of paper, or was this war a stupendous deception and the blood of the ten million youths who died in it sacrificed in vain?

So much for the fallacy and injustice of Zionism from the political, non-Jewish point of view.

Coming to the Jewish point of view, we find that Zionism satisfies not one of the aspirations and motives which gave it birth. The artificiality and sterility of the Zionist experiment is testified to by Jewish and even Zionist observers as will be seen from the quotation in the second part of this brochure. The religious difference between orthodox Zionists and ultra liberal Zionists, some of whom are avowed atheists stands against any hope of unity among them. In every Congress that the Zionists held the bitter religious antagonism was a thorn in the side of its leaders who sought to save the face of Zionism before the outside world. Even a man like Herzl was not immune from the stormy vituperations of the fanatic Russian Jews when he dared to consider the offer of the English Government for the settlement of Uganda.

The economic objection to Zionism is just as strong and has been pointed out by Jewish writers such as Jastraw and Morgenthau. Even Dr. Ruppin a Zionist, could not but admit that Palestine was not large enough nor fertile enough to realize the national aspirations of all the Jews. At the utmost Palestine can hold three million souls, of whom at least half will be natives. What, then, will be the status of the rest of the Jews dispersed all over the world? Will they be resident aliens, or could they be citizens of two countries at the same time? And should war again rise in which Palestine is involved, would the Jews be spies in every country to their new nation or will they be traitors? These are not idle questions for it is beginning to be felt in this country that Zionism is a serious menace to the Americanization movement which seeks to unify all the foreign elements in this land into one homogeneous whole, to which every part will contribute its share.' * Yet how could Zionism share in this movement when its very thesis is an antithesis of Americanization? The philosophy of Americanization is based on assimilation while that of Zionism is an effort to ward off assimilation.

The "social persecution" which the Zionists are trying to obviate through their movement can never be obviated in Palestine. The hatred of Arab to Jew is proverbial. The Zionists can never win the favor of the Arabs through their movement which openly seeks to despoil them, demoralize them, enrage them, and with amazing affrontry tries to "buy" their good will. Whatever money will buy it can never buy good will. The Zionists have placed strong weapons in the hands of their haters in the Near East, and robbed themselves from every excuse before the "Jew baiters" and the "Anti-Semites" in Europe and America.

The spiritual or cultural motives of Zionism also are fictitious.

It was shown by the late Prof. Jastraw as well as others that the Jewish nation did not form a real civilization, did not produce great men in all the different spehres of culture and science, except

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* See the Article by Herbert Adams Gibbons in the Century Magazine for September, 1921.

in their Diaspora. Even their mission as "free thinkers" and critics of social and religious dogmas was indebted to their separation among the nations and their contact with the "goem" in all their walks of life. In Biblical Judaism only prophets arose among the Jews, but in the Daispora philosophers, poets, artists, scientists, scholars, philanthropists, statesmen, and men of affairs added their valuable treasure to the world's common stock of culture. It cannot be justly argued, as the Zionists do, that those illustrious Jews who enriched the world with their genius attributed nothing to "Jewishness" or the Jewish nation, for by the very nature of things those Jews owed more to the gentile world than to the Jewish nation, to which they were only related by that fictitious entity.—race.*

Men like Spinoza, Heine, Carl Marx, Bergson and other world famous Jewish names, could not have been what they were and be also "Jewish" in any narrow sense which the Zionists postulate.

Frankly, we admit we do not know what is meant by the "particularly" Jewish culture which the Zionists wish to perpetuate in Palestsine. The very essence of culture is universal and humanitarian, and time has come when national particularism has become obsolete, and a hindrance to that noble vision of worldly brotherhood, which all the seers, notably the ancient Hebrew prophets, dreamt of and yearned for.

We appeal for the rights of the Palestinans not in the name of nationalism, but in the name of humanity and Justice.

If, as Asher Ginsberg claims in one of his essays,** the Jews have a genius, fro imitation, then why assist this genius by an artificial movement like Zionism? And if imitation necessarily leads to self effacement and assimilation how can Zionism stem this natural current, when it can influence only a small proportion of Jews in a small corner of the world?

Jewish observers of the Zionist experiment in Palestine tell us that the European influences which obset the Jews in Europe are following them to Palestine,*** and what assurance do we have that the new type developed in Palestine will be what the Zionists call "Jewish?"

The fear of assimiliation, by the Zionists is at best fictitious and at worst positively pernicious; it is the fear of that very death without which there can be no truly free life for the Jews in the world.

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* See the splendid esay by the Jewish scholar and historian Darmesteter — "on the History of the Jews" in his Selected Essays.

** Imitation and Assimilation, 1893, Selected Esays. Tr. by Leon Simon.

*** Se quotation from Marion Weinstein in the second part of this brochure. See also Prof. Fulleron's article in the Harvard Theological Review for October, 1917.

We believe that the Jews who are solving the Jewish problem in the right way are the liberal minded Jews like the late Prof. Jastraw, like Morgenthau, and others, and not narrow nationalists as the Zionists are by nature and definition.

The Jews must reconcile themselves to a world which is no more a "diaspora" and to nations who are no more the "goem". If they do not, there will ever be a Jewish problem, insoluble, since the Jews refuse to assist in solving it.

V. THE DANGERS OF ZIONISM

"THE GENTILE ADVOCATES OF RESTORING PALESTINE TO THE JEWS EITHER HAVE NEVER INVESTIGATED THE PROPOSITION FROM THE POINT OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY OR ARE ACTUATED BY THE PRINCIPLE OF POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY SEVERELY DENOUNCED BY PRESIDENT WILSON." (H. A. Gibbons.)

Every western writer who visited Palestine gave warning of the lurking dangers which the Zionist experiment entails. Prof. Fullerton in the Harvard Theological Review for 1917; Dr Herbert Adams Gibbons in the Century Magazine for March, 1918, and October, 1921; Mr. Koven (a Jew) also in the Century Magazine for April, 1919; Prof. Clay in the Atlantic Magazine Feb. 1921; Prof. Peters in a recent issue of the Sewanee Magazine; and Mr. Wythe Walter Williams, the correspondent of the New York "TIMES", in his dispatch from Jerusalem, April 12, 1921, all, with their differences of opinion and points of view, agree that it is bringing trouble in its wake; that it is an inadequate solution of the problem because of which it was created.

Already three riots have taken place in Palestine since the Zionists set their feet on "Eretz Yisrael" as they call it. Mr. Churchill could not but admit, in his speech before Parliament, on his return from an inspection tour in the Near East, that the problem of Palestine was more serious than that of Mesopotamia, and that had it not been for the strong English garrison in the land the Zionists would not have been able to stay in the country.

The Zionists are estranging the native Jews, most of whom are opposed to Zionism, from the Christian and Muhamedan natives of Palestine. In the early days following the armstice placards were hung in the streets which read "every Jew is a Zionist." Such a spirit, born of Zionism and nursed by it, is anything but salutary.

But religious fanaticism is not confined to the relation of Jews with non-Jews. For as we read in Prof. Peters' article, quoted in the Dearborn Independent for September 17, 1921, the social persecution of Zionist Jews to non-Zionist Jews in Palestine, who refuse to comply with their foolish program, could hardly be any severer than the persecution of the Christians in Eastern Europe to Jews in their midst.

But graver dangers, of an international nature, confront the Zionist movement. In the first place the Muhammedan world will never submit to the settlement of the Jews in a land as holy to them as to Jews or Christians; they will not tolerate any suzerainity or protectorship of Jews over the holy places—the Masjid-ul-Aksa, the Mosque of Omar, and the cave of Macphilah. Nor will Christendom give its countenance to such an arrangement to judge from the Eastern Allocution of the Pope for 1920.

More real and pressing is the political danger which takes the form of a conflict of national aspirations between Zionists and

Arabs. Already Zionists speak of a "Greater Palestine", and of restoring the boundaries of the kingdom of David and Salomon. The World War opened the eyes of the Arabs to an opportunity for which they have been awaiting for centuries. Is it likely that thy will resign all their national aspirations and vision at the advent of this spectre of a "wandering Jew"?

Then as it has been pointed out by Lord Sydenham in his article in the Nineteenth Century Magazine, there is the danger of political complications with Russia which was never consulted and had never consented to the terms of mandate over Palestine. Russia cannot remain a land of anarchy and chaos forever, and a time will come when its word will have weight in international affairs. Will Russia favor Zionism with all that we know of the antipathy of the Russians to the Jews?

VI. OUR DEMANDS

WE ASK NOT FOR MERCY BUT FOR JUSTICE; WE DEMAND NOTHING THAT IS NOT RIGHTLY OURS.

Zionists often remind us that they are going to Palestine to improve it; to elevate the standard of living and improve the conditions of its inhabitants. They tell us that they are going to spend millions of dollars to make Palestine a genuine earthly paradise.

To all this we answer that it is against every law of higher equity and justice to force a favor on a person who does not want it, how much more on a whole nation. Was it because the negroes were not living happily in America that the Civil War was fought to liberate them? Or was it not for that priceless liberty which God Almighty decreed that every rational being should possess.

Neither is it fair to hold that the Palestinian natives are backward or incapable of progress, when in less than fifty years, since the modern re-awakening, they have produced proficient men in all the walks and professions of life. Lord Cromer, the former British High Commissioner to Egypt, called the Syrians in Egypt "The Cream of the Near East". Nor should it be forgotten that the Palestinian natives are competing with the Zionists under unfair handicaps. The governor of Palestine is a Zionist Jew, and his legal advisers and council are Zionist Jews. We are told by Lord Sydenham, who is in a position to know, that the former financial advisers of the Palestine Government, an upright, impartial English officer, was dismissed in spite of his capacity, because it is alleged, he was **persona non grata** to the Zionists, so also General Money, the first military administrator of Palestine, had to resign because of the contrivance of the Zionists against him. But more glaring than all this is the revelation form Zionists sources that the Balfour Declaration itself was dictated by the Zionists and revised in their offices before it took its final shape .

One instance of Zionist oppression and highhanded officiousness in Palestine will convince the reader of the falsity of their assurances that they will not interfere with the rights of the native Palestinians. Just after the war the farmers of Palestine, in accordance with the old Turkish law, applied to the government for loans from the Anglo-Egyptian bank which was granting loans at the rate of 6½% and the new administration made favorable arrangements for the transactions. But the Zionists protested, directing the natives of the Jewish-Anglo-Palestinian Bank which was charging double the rate and seeking mortgage on the land.

When the question was raised in the House of Lords by Lord Sydenham the official answer was that—"This question was the key to the future, and especially the Zionist future of the country, and the Zionist organization mantained that it should not have

been settled without previous consultation with them."*

In the light of all that has been said above we cannot but reiterate the demands which were submitted to the League of Nations and to His Excellency Winston Churchill, the Secretary of State for the British Colonies by the Palestine Delegation to Europe, elected by the 4th. Palestinian Congress and representing all the native Muhammadans and Christians of Palestine.

These demands are: (1) That the question of a mandate for Palestine be postponed until the will of the people, which has never been consulted before, has been declared in a free manner. (2) That a national government responsible to a Parliament elected by those Palestinians who lived in the country before the war—Moslems, Christians, and Jews, be constituted. (3) That the principle of the creation of a national home for the Jews in Palestine be abolished. (4) That Palestine be not separated from her Arab neighboring sister states.

* See Lord Sydenham's article in the Nineteenth Century and After Magazine for April, 1921.

PART II

I. WHAT WRITERS IN GENERAL SAY ABOUT ZIONISM.

WE DO NOT AGREE WITH THE BRILLIANT, PARADOXICAL ENGLISH ESSAYIST AND SATARIST MR. C. K. CHESTERTON, IN HIS GENERAL ATTITUDE TO ZIONISM, NOR IN HIS FANTASTIC THEORY OF THE SEGRAGATION OF THE JEWS. NEVERTHELESS WE BELIEVE THAT SOME OF HIS DIAGNOSIS OF THE JEWISH PROBLEM IS ACCURATE THOUGH BOLD. AS WE MENTIONED IN THE FIRST PART OF THIS BROCHURE WE HOLD THAT THE RIGHT SOLUTION OF THE JEWISH PROBLEM IS AFFORDED BY THE LIBERAL JEWS THEMSELVES, WHO KNOW THEIR OWN PROBLEM BETTER THAN CHESTERTON, AND HAVE MORE SYMPATHY WITH IT. THE ATTENTION OF MR. ZANGWILL, WHO FIRST CALLED THE PALESTINIAN ARAB GYPSIES, IS RESPECTFULLY CALLED TO THE FOLLOWING QUOTATION FROM CHESTERTON'S CHAPTER ON ZIONISM IN HIS RECENT BOOK "THE NEW JERUSALEM". MR. CHESTERTON IS HERE COMPRAING THE JEWISH RACE WITH GYPSIES.

"Both races are in different ways landless, and therefore in different ways lawless. For the fundamental laws are land laws. In both cases a reasonable man will see reasons for unpopularity, without wishing to indulge any task for persecution. In both cases he will probably recognize the reality of a racial fault, while admitting that it may be largely a racial misfortune. That is to say, the drifting and detached condition may be largely the cause of Jewish usury or gypsy pilfering; but it is not common sense to contradict the general experience of gipsy pilfering or Jewish usury. The comparison helps us to clear away some of the cloudy evasions by which modern men have tried to escape from that experience. It is absurd to say that people are only prejudiced against the money methods of the Jews because the medieval church has left behind a hatred of their religion. We might as well say that people only protect the chickens from the gipsies because the medieval church undoubtedly condemned fortune-telling. It is unreasonable for a Jew to complain that Shakespear makes Shylock and not Antonio the ruthless money-lender; or that Dickens make Fagin and not Sikes the receiver of stolen gods. It is as if a gipsy were to complain when a novelist describes a child as stolen by the gipsies, and not by the curate or the mothers' meeting. It is to complain of facts and probabilities. There may be good gipsies; there may be be good qualities which specially belong to them as gipsies; many students of the strange race have, for instance, praised a certain dignity and self-respect among the women of the Romany. But no student ever praised them for an exaggreated respect for private property, and the whole argument about gipsy theft can be roughly repeated about Hebrew usury. Above all, there is one other respect in the essential fact of the whole business, that the Jews do not become national merely by becoming a political part of any nation. We might as well say that the gipsies had villes in Clapham, when their caravans stood on Clapham Common."

"The Syrians and Arabs and all the agricultural and pastoral

populations of Palestine are, rightly or wrongly, alarmed and angered at the advent of the Jews to power; for the perfectly practical and simpel reason of the reputation which Jews have all over the world. It is really ridiculous in people so inetlligent as the Jews, and especially so intelligent as the Zionists, to ignore so enormous and elementary a fact as that reputation and its natural results. It may or may not in this case be unjust; but in any case it is not unnatural. It may be the result of persecution, but it is one that has definitely resulted. It may be the consequence of a misunderstanding; but it is a misunderstanding that must itself be understood. Rightly or wrongly, certain people in Palestine fear the coming of the Jews as they fear the coming of the locusts; they regard them as parasites that feed on a community by a thousand methods of financial intrigue and economic exploitation. I could understand the Jews indignantly denying this, or eagerly disproving it, or best of all, explaining what is true in it while exposing what is untrue. What is strange, I might almost say wierd, about the attitude of some quite intelligent and sincere Zionists, is that they talk, write and apparently think as if there were no such thing in the world"

Ibid.

"....Dr. Weizman is a man of large mind and human sympathies; and it is difficult to believe that any one with so fine a sense of humanity can be entirely empty of anything like a sense of humor. Yet, in the middle of a very temperate and magnanimous address on 'Zionist Policy', he can actually say a thing like this, 'The Arabs need us with our knowledge, and our experience and our money. If they do not have us they will fall into the hands of others, they will fall among sharks.' One is tempted for the moment to doubt whether any one else in the world could have said that, except the Jew with his strange mixture of brilliancy and blindness, of subtlety and simplicity. It is much as if President Wilson were to say, 'Unless America deals with Mexico, it will be dealt with by some modern commercial power, that has trust-magnates and hustling millionaires.' But would President Wilson say it? It is as if the German Chancellor had said, 'We must rush to the rescue of the poor Belgians, or they may be put under some system with a rigid militarism and a bullying bureaucracy'. But would even a German Chancellor put it exactly like that? Would anybody put it in the exact order of words and structure of sentence in wihch Dr. Weizmann has put it? Would even the Turks say, The Armenians need us with our order and our discipline and our arms. If they do not have us theywill fall into the hands of others, they will perhaps be in danger of massacres". I suspect that a Turk would see the joke, even if it were as grim a joke as the massacres themselves. If Zionists wish to quiet the fears of the Arabs, surely the first thing to do is to discover what the Arabs are afraid of. And very little investigation will reveal the simple truth that they are very much afraid of sharks; and that in their book of symbolic or heraldic zoology it is the Jew who is adorned with the dorsal fin and the crescent of cruel teeth. This may be a fairy-tale about a fabulous animal; but it is one which

all sorts of races believe, and certainly one which these races believe."

".....And as the imagery about the shark may be too metaphorical or almost mythological, there is not the smallest difficulty in stating in plain words what theArabs fear in the Jews. They fear, in exact terms, their knowledge and their experience and their money. The Arabs fear exactly the three things which he says they need. Only the Arabs would call it a knowledge of financial trickery and an experience of political intrigue, and the power given by hoards of money not only of their own but of other peoples."

Ibid.

MR. HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS ONE OF THE ABLEST WRITERS ON THE SMALL NATIONS WAS IN PARIS AT THE TIME OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE, SAID OF ZIONISM AS EARLY AS 1918.

"The Jewish advocates of introducing hundreds of thousands of Jews into Palestine, immigrants backed by outside diplomatic and financial support and going for the purpose of setting up a theoretic government for the Jewish nation, forget or ignore the fact that Palestine is already inhabited by a nation which has possessed the land for over a thousand years—a nation homogenous in race as well as in religion, a nation with traditions more firmly centered, because of contact and ownership, with the **harams** of Jerusalem and Hebron than their own, a nation whose highly perfected language was preferred to Hebrew as a medium by the great Jewish writers Saadia, Maimonides, and for his prose Jehuda Ben Halvey. The Gentile advocates of restoring Palestine to the Jews either have never investigated the proposition from the point of view of the inhabitants of the country or are actuated by the principal of political expediency severely denounced by President Wilson."*

"By those who were watching closely the military and political situation in the Near East, and who knew that Dr. Weizmann had secured the ear of Mr. Balfour, the diplomatic move at the end of 1917 was not unexpected. Nor have subsequent events in Palestine been unexpected. Sudden sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations could have been born only of the knowledge that General Allenby was ready to capture Jerusalem, and that Dr. Weizmann, in return for Jewish support, was equaly ready to enlist Zionism officially in the task of making Palestine virtually a British protectorate. Thus was the Sherif of Mecca, recognized as "King of the Hedjaz" by the Entente powers, to be checked in his alarming ambition to refound a strong Arabic Empire on the ruins of the former Ottoman Empire."

Ibid.

"Prominent Jews in the intellectual and business and commercial world, whose names and statements appear in Zionist publications in favor of the Zionist interpretation of the Balfour

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* Zionism and the World Peace. p. p. 12, Century Magazine, Mar. 1918.

letter, have assured me privately that they view the whole movement with the gravest misgivings, and that they openly sponsor the project simply because at the present moment no Jew can without injury to himself throw cold water on Zionism. An American Jew who has had unusual opportunities for studying the political and social and economic problems of the Ottoman Empire, and who was a recent visitor to the Palestine colonies said to me: 'A Jewish state in Palestine is a chimera outside the realm of practical politics; so don't waste your time fighting windmills.' "

Ibid.

IN ANOTHER ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED ALSO IN THE CENTURY MAGAZINE, SEPT. 1921, MR. GIBBONS SAID:

"..... And there can be no question that Anti-Semitism, not only in Palestine, but through out the world, will increase more and more and more as the world, Christian and Moslem, becomes familiar with the situation."

"If the Jews persist in maintaining a distinct ethnic consciousness and an exclusive community life, Anti-Semitism will thrive in America as it has thriven in Europe. The American nation, itself the result of fusion, will not tolerate without protest a foreign element in it. For the Jew it is either the melting pot or back to the Ghetto."

"What it means to be an American is taught in one of the books of the Hebrew Bible. The story of Ruth is an epic of Americanization. Whoever comes to us in the spirit of Ruth need not feel an alien. Whoever comes to us in the spirit of Ahad Ha'Am (a Zionist writer and leader, exponent of "Cultural Zionism") will always be an alien and will breed aliens."

Ibid.

REFERRING TO THE TENDENCY OF ZIONIST LEADERS IN PALESTINE TO FOSTER EXCLUSIVENESS AMONG YOUNG JEWS, PROF. JOHN P. PETERS, PROFESSOR OF NEW TESTAMENT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH, SAID IN AN ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED IN THE SEWANEE MAGAZINE DESCRIBING ZIONIST EFFORTS IN PALESTINE FROM PERSONAL OBSERVATION, AFTER A RECENT TRIP TO THE HOLY LAND:

"I was told great pressure was being exerted, I regret to say, especially from America, to prevent the management from continuing this particular work of teaching Jew, Christian, and Moslem on the same plane, the demand being that the Jew should not be brought into such contact with the Moslem and the Christian, and that he alone should be trained, that he might not be infected, as it were, by the others and that might not be prepared to compete with him for possesion of the land."

"In Jerusalem it was asserted that the Zionists funds, or the Jewish funds which the Zionists could influence or control, were used to subsidize Jewish artisans or merchants to underbid Christians and Moslems and thus oust them by unfair competion, and that similar means were being used to acquire lands or titles to lands."

Ibid.

PROF. CLAY, PROFESSOR OF ASSYRIOLOGY IN YALE UNIVERSITY, SAID, AFTER HE RETURNED FROM A VISIT TO PALESTINE, IN AN ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED IN THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, FEBRUARY, 1921:

"Those who are familiar with life in Palestine where the feeling between Moslem and Christian and Jew is perhaps more intense than in any other land are fully cognizant that this scheme for a Jewish state not only accentuates and increases the animosities that have always existed, but invites another tragic chapter in the history of the Hebrews."

"Political Zionism is strongly opposed by many Orthodox Jews in Palestine; especially because they recognize that, through the fanaticism of the Zionist leaders, it has become most difficult for them to maintain their relations with the other natives."

IN A COMMUNICATION FROM DAMASCUS, VIA CAIRO, MR. WILLIAM T. ELLIS, THE ABLE AND UNPREJUDICED CORRESPONDENT OF THE NEW YORK HERALD, SAID IN A DISPATCH WHICH APPEARED IN THE ISSUE OF JUNE 25, 1918:

"The world one day will awake to the existence of a grave situation here, a situation that is more serious than in the Adriatic and which, in certain respects, is not unlike that in Fiume, was the statement made to me today by an American official who has recently returned here from Paris.

" 'The Peace Conference is entirely unaware of the situation in this country', he said. 'It is moving calmly on its way apportioning territory among the old and new powers without reckoning on militant local sentiment.

"Nobody in Paris with whom I talked had any conception of the unanimity of the opposition of the foreigners and natives in Syria or Palestine to the political Zionists. It is simply impossible to turn Palestine over to the Jews without precipitating a great massacre." (This prediction was fulfilled in a small degree more than once).

MISS FRANCESS E. NEWTON SUMS THE ATTITUDE OF THE PALESTINIANS TO ENGLAND IN THE FOLLOWING WORDS TAKEN FROM AN ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED IN THE SPECTATOR AND REPRINTED BY A PALESTINIAN PAPER, MIRAAT AL-SHERK.

MISS NEWTON IS AN ENGLISH PHILANTHROPIST, WHO HAS BEEN IN PALESTINE FOR THIRTY YEARS.

"With a Home Government negotiating with De Valera in arms, and with Lord Reading receiving Gandhi organizing a boycott, can there be any legitimate reason for refusing to recognize a naturally docile and a law-loving people, who only wish to make their wishes known in defence of the rights for whcih the British flag stands, and for which, in fact we fought the war The Arabs ask for no preferential treatment; they only ask that legislation in which they have no voice, and they consider detremental to their interest, together with action taken to put it into operation, shall not be forced upon them regardless of their repeated protestation."

ALLUDING TO THE DANGER OF THE PASSING OF LAND FROM ARAB TO JEWISH HANDS THROUGH PRIVATE TRANSACTIONS THE BIRMINGHAM POST (England) SAYS IN ITS JULY 25 ISSUE:

"But the dangerous fact is that more of these transactions there are the less land there will be in Arab hands and the more in Jewish and the faster that process goes on, the nearer we get to an explosion of Arab hatred for the Jew. That hatred is ancient and inveterate. It goes back to the days of the Exodus from Egypt and is undying. Those who know the Arab of to-day say that he is implacable . Titus had a powerful body of Arabs with his army and upon their malignant ferocity he did not depend in vain."

LORD SYDENHAM IN A LETTER TO THE MORNING POST FOR SEPT. 7, 1921, QUOTES THE FOLLOWING PASSAGES FROM THE ZIONIST LEADERS AND WRITERS TO ILLUSTRATE THE HIGH-HANDED MANNER IN WHICH THE ZIONISTS INTEND TO RULE IN PALESTINE, AND IN FACT HAVE BEGAN TO ILLUSTRATE.

"Let the sovereignty be granted us over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the reasonable requirements of the nation; the rest we shall manage for ourselves.—The Jewish State."

(Herzl.)

"Yes; we are strong enough to form a State, and a model State."

Ibid.

"The Jew will now be able to assimilate himself; he will never adopt the customs and ways of other peoples. The Jew remains a Jew under all circumstances. Every assimiliation is purely exterior."—Speech of Rabbi Kahn, July, 1901.

"The Government of Palestine (in Jewish hands), composed of men of wisdom and of intellectuals, will guide the economic movement not only of the Orient and Anatolia but probably also of the whole world."—The Iniklab, a Jewish paper of Constantinople quoted in la Vieille France.

"We said we desired to create in Palestine such conditions, political, economic, and administrative, that in a given time, as short as possible, Palestine should become as Jewish as England is English, or America is American."—Dr. Weizmann, Address, September 21, 1919.

"The regulation of immigration should be in our hands, and not in anyone else's."

Ibid.

Such quotations", said Lord Sydenham "might easily be multiplied, and I venture to suggest that they supply a most reasonable justification of the "foreboding" which the High Commissioner describes. They further help to explain the fact that many Jews here and in America reject the Modern Zionism."

"There is no place for the fearless and honorable British officer, who recognizes the rights of the Palestinians and is determined to be impartial, in the administration to-day."

LORD SYDENHAM IN THE NINTEENTH CENTURY MAGAZINE, APRIL, 1921, AGAIN SAID:

"Can the Arabs be bribed or cajoled into parting with their

hereditary lands; and can the great schemes projected be carried out on an economic basis? Money will accomplish much; but I do not believe that the Palestinians will tamely submit to the loss of their birthright, or to be turned into labourers by the operations of Zionist capital."

Ibid.

A DISTINCTION IS CREATED BY SOME ZIONISTS BETWEEN THE RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL RIGHTS OF THE NATIVE PALESTINIANS AND THE POLITICAL RIGHTS. IN THIS WAY THEY TRY TO GET AROUND THE AMBIGUOUS AND EMBARRASSING CLAUSE IN THE BALFOUR DECLARATION WHICH SEEKS TO GUARD THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS RIGHTS OF THE NATIVES. THE ARABS ARE TO HAVE CIVIL AND RELIGOUS RIGHTS BUT NO POLITICAL ONES.

COMMENTING ON THIS ATTITUDE IN AN OPENING EDITORIAL FOR SEPTEMBER 7, 1921, THE MORNING POST SAYS IN PART:

"If Englishmen were to take up that attitude, and were to say to the Jews in England: You have come here upon false pretenses, you are not a religious community but a nation, and this country is the national home of the British people; therefore, although we do not propose to interfere with your civil and religious rights, we must deprive you of your political rights—if, we say, the British people were to take up that attitude what would the Jews have to reply?"

"Zionism, like Bolshevism, has already proved itself to be a hideous failure, as most sensible Jews are ready to admit, and mainly for the same reasons. Both systems are essentially the imposition of an outside tyranny or native population, so severe and inefficient that both the Russian and the Palestinian peasants are determined not to submit to it any longer. Both are the inventions of therorists, out of touch with reality and by habit incapable of appreciating the true character of the problems with which they have to deal. And finally in both cases the theory is awe inspiring and debased, incapable of arousing any enthusiasm or altruism among peoples on whom it is imposed."

MORNING POST AUGUST, 25, 1921.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.

"Can any one show that British interests are served by the policy to which Mr. Balfour's declaration commited us?..... The great cost, per capita, of keeping our military forces there has already been stated, but why the British tax payer should have to foot the bill because of our having accepted a mandate on which he was never consulted has not, as far as I am aware, been published?"

Muirhead Collins in the Morning Post, Sept. 13, 1921.

"For the Arab has lived with the Jew in Palestine and has taken the measure of him. The Palestinian Jew is not an impressive creature. As he walks about Jerusalem he presents an emaciated face, a bent back, and a feeble frame garbed in almost feminine raiment. His most public performance is one of racial decadence, indulging in national depravity. Surrounding

him, outnumbering him by ten to one, is the Syrian Arab, who by contrast shows a virility in physical and mental fibre, which readily accounts for his detestation of any attempt to be controlled by Jews."

Alfred Burgess in the Morning Post, Sept. 7, 1921.

"The High Commission, Sir Herbert Samuel, recently convened a meeting of 46 notables of Palestine to discuss with him the lines of the future government of Palestine with the aid of an elective Assembly.

At the first meeting it was proposed that this gathering of notables should meet fortnightly until its work was finished. But Sir H. Samuel set it down that the basis of its discussions must be the Balfour Declaration and the Zionist interpretation of that document. The Palestine notable refused absolutely to accept this; they contended that this would be putting Palestine under Jewish bondage.

It is understood that an impasse has been reached and that there will be no further meetings of the notables. Strenuous efforts are being made here—and it is understood in London also—to induce the Palestine population to give some form of assent to the Zionist domination. But the Palestine population is resolute to appeal to the Britsh people against the Zionist tyrrany, and failing success in that appeal, to take what measures are possible to defend its homes and liberties."

(From a special correspondent to the Morning Post, Jerusalem, August 24.)

"The Jews who are entering are not the Rotschilds; Montagues and Samuels, but the sweeping of the ghettoes of Central Europe, with no money, no energy, and no ability. Half of the recent immigrants are already on Government work paid for by the taxes of the country—i. e., as to nine-tenths by the Arabs. The population consists of 700,000, of whom nine tenths are Arabs and others and about one-tenth are Jews. These Arabs are not nomad Bedouins, but settled agriculturists; nor is Palestine a land of vacant, unclaimed spaces open for colonization. With the exception of the tops of bare hills and a few malarial valleys, the whole of it is both cultivated and owned by individual Arabs, who do not wish to sell their birthright.

The Arabs are up to the present very pro-British. They believe in and are willing to be ruled by us, but they dcline with the utmost determination to come under Jewish rule. They see the High Commissioner a Jew, his private secretary a Jew, the head and second of the Legal Department who fashion the legal side of the Government Jews, the head of the contract Department a Jew, and many more. They see the Jewish language on the street corners and on the postage stamps. They read the Jewish papers of Europe and America claiming the political control of Palestine, and I fear they are seeing their deputation spurned by Mr. Churchil. Do not let us bury our heads in the sand. The Arab will not submit to Jewish domination. Are we going to force it upon him?

If so, send at least two divisions of troops back to Palestine. It cannot be done with less.

More than a year ago, on my return from India, I warned Mr. Montagu of the probability of Arab attacks on the Jews. To-day the situation is far more serious. We are denying to the Arabs the right of self-determination, and this by a Government which has givn it in modified degree to India. What is Mr. Churchill's answer?"

W. Joyson-Hicks. In the Morning Post for Sept. 6, 1921.

"The American and British missionaries who have been in Palestine for many years are partisans of the Arabs to a certain extent, because they believe they have been unjustly treated in this country and by the French in Syria. They explain their position by stating that they are not anti-Jewish but they are pro-Arab. In their opinion the two countries should not have been divided but made into a federated State of the Middle East, with Mesopotamia and Arabia under a strong American or British mandate."

Morning Post

"The representatives of the Moslem-Christian Association, which has branches all over Palestine and a considerable amount of money in its treasury to carry on the anti-Zionist campaign, read the petition to Mr. Churchill, but did not get much encouragement from him. He advised them to wait patiently to see what the developments of the new policy would be and to act loyally in support of the Government. They asked him if he would receive a delegation if the organization sent one to London, and the Colonial Minister replied that he would do so. The Executive Commitee is selecting the delegates, who will soon start for London, after they have collected $150,000 for expenses.

If they do not get any satisfaction from the British Parliament the delegates will go to Paris and then to Rome and Washington to plead for justice for the Palestinians. It is their intention to wait patiently for one year after the return of the delegation from Europe and America, and then, in the words of Musa Pasha Kazem al Husaini former Mayor of Jerusalem, of the line of the Prophet Mohammed, 'to appeal to the Moslems throughout the world to protect the holy soil of their ancestors from the spoilers.'

"One of the chief grounds of the Moslems for complaint is that the Zionists are bringing in thousands of immigrants who have no capital and are employed working on roads and other public improvements to the detriment of the Arabs, who are indigenous to the soil and need the money, as they are very poor. About 10,000, at a conservative estimate, of these immigrants have arrived, and more are coming into Jaffa and Haifa at the rate of 900 a month. The association wants this stopped, as it is asserted that the people are opposed to having public works started to give the penniless Zionists employment.

Another grievance is that the Zionists are purchasing land at a good price because of the reluctance of the Moslems to sell

it, and that the Zionist commission leases it for a term of forty-nine years to Jews for building or cultivation, but the property will always remain in the possession of the National Jewish Fund and can never be alienated."

"There are, says Sir Herbert Samuel's report, 700,00 people in Palestine. Four-fifths of the whole population are Moslems; 77,000 are Christians; and 76,000 are Jews, almost all of whom have arrived in the country within the last forty years. The resident population foresee with alarm that the proportion will soon be altered against them. Since August, 1920, we learn, 10,000 immigrants have arrived in the country, of whom 8,084 came under the Zionist organization, as against 315 persons of all other races. Add to this that the Zionist societies purchase areas of land expressely for their settlement, and no wonder that the Arab population is disturbed. It cannot see the developments that are in the mind's eye of the High Commissioner, the irrigation, the forestry, the agricultural improvements. Its fixed idea is that the land is a limited quantity wihch is likely to be appropriated before long by the Jews, leaving to the older populations the towns and the life of the bazaars. The change may not come in a day, but that is their instinctive judgment of the way in which things are setting."

Morning Post, Aug. 31, 1921.

THE FOLLOWING QUOTATIONS ARE TAKEN FROM AN ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED IN THE DEARBORN INDEPENDENT UNDER THE STRANGE TITLE, "WILL JEWISH ZIONISM BRING ARMAGEDDON", IN ITS ISSUE OF MAY 28, 1921. WHATEVER MAY BE SAID OF THE "ANTI-SEMITISM" OF MR. FORD'S PAPER, IT IS HARD TO REFUTE SOME OF ITS GLARING REVELATIONS WHICH ARE PUT FORTH IN SUCH A SPIRIT OF FEARLESS INDEPENDENCE WHICH IS HARD TO FIND IN THE TIMID PRESS ACTUATED BY SELFISH, MATERIALISTIC MOTIVES.

"With Zionism as a dream of pious Jews this article has nothing to do. With Zionism as a political fact, every first class government is now compelled to have something to do. It is a bigger question than the German indemnities or American immigration, because it lies back of both, and is rapidly proceeding under cover of both."

"Germany gladly pledged the land of Palestine to the Jews, but the Jews had already seen what Wilhelm had done in that ancient State when he enthroned himself on the Mount of Olives. Evidently the Allies won in the contest of making promises, for on November 2, 1917, when General Allenby was pushing up through Palestine with his British Army, Arthur Balfour, the Britist secretary of state for foreign affairs, issued the famous declaration approving Palestine as a national home for the Jewish people."

"The mark of disorder perpetrated by the Jews is all over the place, the 'persecuted' turned persecutor, and lest this should be charged to the general wildness of the people in Palestine let it be said that the rioters were only expressing in deeds what

cultivated American and English Jews have expressed in words—namely, that the lawful inhabitants of the land ought to be driven out, in spite of governmental promises to the contrary. One of th first Easter rioters, Jabotinsky, whom the British authorities sentenced to 15 years in prison, was released immediately upon the arrival of Sir Herbert Samuel, and is now traveling in state, and is talked of as a possible successor to Sir Herbert, although he is originally one of the Russian Bolsheviki come down to practice the gentle arts of the tribe in Palestine. The government is Jewish. Sir Herbert Samuel, is High Commissioner, representing the power of the British Government which holds the mandate over Palestine. The head of the judicial department who appoints the judges of Palestine is a Jew. Christian or Moslem judges who do not give the Jews a shade the better of the proceedings are ousted—a condition not unknown in New York. Chain Weizman is head of the department of works—he is a Jew now travelling in this country and having the polite lie passed to him accasionally by Judge Julian W. Mack. In fact, at the heads of all the departments are Jews, a former New York Jew being head of the depratment of immigration, who has made splendid rules for the protection of Palestine from an undesirable class of Jews, rules so well adapted for the purpose that if the Congress of the United States should adopt them the cry of 'persecution' would girdle the world."

THE DEARBORN INDEPENDENT PRINTS IN THE FOLLOWING THE LIST OF PUNISHMENTS WHICH APPEARED IN A HEBREW PAPER IN PALESTINE AND WERE DIRECTED AGAINST "RENEGADE JEWS" WHO PERSISTED TO SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO GENTILE AND JEWISH NON "ZIONIST" SCHOOLS IN SPITE OF THE ORDERS OF THE ZIONIST COMMITTEE TO THE CONTRARY. THE SAME LIST APPEARED IN PROF. PETERS' ARTICLE IN THE SEWANEE MAGAZINE.

"If any parent refused* whose name was on the list of the American Relief Fund, the relief would be withdrawn.

Doctors would be forbidden to visit the families that had children attending the enlightened schools.

Their names would be sent to the blacklist at the places where circumcision was performed, so that new-born descendants of the recalcitrants might be refused the rite of Moses.

They would be denied all share in Zionist benefits or funds.

If they were in business, they would be boycotted.

If they were workmen they could get no work.

"Anyone who refused, let him know what it was forbidden for him to be called by the name of Jew. They will be fought by all lawful means. Their names will be put upon a monument of shame and their deeds made to reproach them to the last generation. If they are supported, their support will cease. If they are rabbis, they will be moved far from their office. They shall be put under the ban, persecuted, and all the world will know that in this justice there has been no mercy."

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* i. e. refused to send his children to the Zionist schools.

COMMENTING ON THIS NAIVE OFFICIOUSNESS AND DESPOTISM OF THE ZIONISTS IN PALESTINE THE DEARBORN INDEPENDENT SAID:

"It is the Jewish Bolshevist spirit all over again, that spirit which so many people have been vainly endeavoring to reconcile with the Russian temperament—because it is so un-Russian.

It is tyranny, and not the tyranny of strength, but of meanness and darkness. It is now perfectly clear what was meant by Dr. McIness, who is Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, when he said: 'The emigrant so far brought in (to Palestine, under the Commission) did not include many respectable English Jews; but they did include a great number of Russians, Poles and Rumanians, many of them thoroughly Bolshevik in their attitude of the government.'

If this spirit obtains at the beginning of a movement which the Christian world has been taught by propaganda to regard as a profoundly religious and respectable exodus, it burdens the imagination to forecast what will be done in a period of full and unquestioned rule."

"There are three elements of danger in the situation as it exists today: the overwhelmingly predominant Bolshevik element that is being poured into Palestine; the intense, egoistic and challenging nationalism that Zionists exhibit even before they get a potato patch—the taste for world politics and world power; and the racial confusion which now exists in Palestine.

These combined are dynamite. The first is more vital than many realize. Already the Jews have gone to Palestine at great sacrifice and for pious reasons are complaining that instead of the Psalms of David the people are singing songs of the Red Revolution, and instead of meeting for instruction and prayer there are riotous gatherings extolling Trotsky as Messiah and the Soviet as the kingdom of heaven. On the third anniversary of the Jewish Revolution in Russia, the streets of Jerusalem were placarded with sentiments of blasphemy and treason, and May Day this year was devoted to the exaltation of anarchy."

Ibid.

II. WHAT JEWISH WRITERS SAY ABOUT ZIONISM.

THE PHILOSOPHIC FALLACY ON WHICH ZIONISM IS BASED COULD BE NO BETTER DISPELLED THAN IT IS IN THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH FROM THE ABLE JEWISH HISTORIAN AND SCHOLAR JAMES DARMESTETER.

"Great religions outlive their altars and their priests. Hellenism, abolished, counts less skeptics today than in the days of Socrates and Anaxagoras. The gods of Homer died when Phidias carved them in marble, and now they are immortally enthroned in the thought and heart of Europe. The cross may crumble into dust, but there were words spoken under its shadow in Galilee, the echo of which will forever vibrate in the human conscience. And when the nation who made the Bible shall have disappeared, —the race and the cult,—though leaving no visible trace of its passage upon earth, its imprint will remain in the depth of the heart of generations, who will unconsciously, perhaps, live upon what has thus been implantd in their breasts."

Selected Essays. On the History of the Jews, P. 276.

NO SEVERER CONDEMNATION OF ZIONISM COULD BE GIVEN THAN THAT WHICH MR. HENRY MORGENTHAU, A PROMINENT JEW AND A FORMER AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED STATES TO TURKEY, HURLED AGAINST IT IN HIS FAMOUS ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED IN THE JULY NUMBER OF THE WORLD'S WORK WE QUOTE AT RANDOM THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS FROM THAT ARTICLE:

"Zionism is the most stupendous fallacy in Jewish history. I assert that it is wrong in principle and impossible of realization; that it is unsound in economics, fantastical in its politics, and sterile in its spiritual ideals Where it is not pathetically visionary., it is a cruel playing with the hopes of a people blindly seeking their way out of agelong miseries. Zionism is a surrender, not a solution. It is a retrogression into the blackest error, and not progress toward the light. I will go further and say that it is a betrayal; it is an Eastern European proposal, fathered in this country by American Jews, which if it were to succeed, would cost the Jews of America most that they have gained of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

".....But the notion that Great Britain would for one instance allow any form of government in Palestine, under any name whatever, that was in fact an apanage of the British Crown and subservient to the paramount interests of the British World policy, is too fantastical for serious refutation."

"Generous America has thrown wide the doors of opportunity to him (e. i. the Jew). The Jew possesses no talents of the mind or spirit that canot find here a free field for its most complete expression."

"The enlightened Jews of America have found the true road to Zion. To them, Zion is a region of the soul. To them it is an inner light, set upon the hill of personal consciousness." "The

Jews of France have found France to be their Zion, the Jews of England have found England to be their Zion. We Jews of America have found America to be our Zion. Therefore I refuse to allow myself to be called a Zionist. I am an American."

THAT THE BALFOUR DECLARATION WAS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ZIONIST MACHINATIONS IS CLEARLY SEEN FROM THE WORDS OF JESSIE E. SAMPTER IN HIS "GUIDE TO ZIONISM" WHERE IT IS DECLARED THAT BALFOUR'S DECLARATION CAME PERHAPS AS A SURPRISE TO A LARGE SECTION OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE, BUT NOT TO THE INNER CIRCLE OF ZIONISM.

"The wording of it came from the British Foreign Office; but the text has been revised in the Zionist offices of America, as well as in England. The British declaration was made in the form in which the Zionists desired it."

The Reform Jews and Jews who are well to do and desired to enjoy all the privilegs of the different nations among which they lived freely, were bitterly opposed to Herzl's new movement. They considered him as a man who "rocks the boat", and gives added reason to Anti-Semitism by attracting the attention of the world to a Jewish separatist movement which greatly interferes with the progress of assimiliation with the modern world. In this spirit the Association of German Rabbis, who met in July 16, 1879, declared against Zionism. So also the central conference of American Rabis declared that "such attempts do not benefit but infinitely harm our Jewish brethren, where they are still persecuted, by confirming the assertion of their enemies that the Jews are foreigners in the countries in which they are everywhere the most loyal and patriotic citizens."*

"We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine nor a sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration on any of the laws concerning the Jewish state."**

PROF. MORRIS JASTROW, LATE PROF. OF ASSYRRIOLOGY IN PENNSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY, AND ONE OF THE ABLEST SCHOLARS IN AMERICA SET HIS FACE AGAINST ZIONISM AS EARLY AS 1919, WHEN HE DENOUNCED IT IN A BOOK, "ZIONISM AND THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE" FROM WHICH WE TAKE THE FOLLOWING QUOTATIONS:

"Accompanying the political emancipation of Jews there arose a movement within the fold to adapt the external character of Judaism to the new conditions. The era of Reformed Judaism as the movemnet came to be called, set in—inevitably so. We err completely in looking at the movement as a destructive one; it is essentially constructive. Its main aim is the adapfation of the

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* See Gottheil, History of Zionism, PP. 103-4, and notes 23, where it is claimed that the protest of the Vorstund of German Rabbis against Zionism was taken without consulting the whole body it represented.

** Declaration of the Pittsburgh Conference of American Rabbis 1885. Philipson—The Reform Movement in Judaism, P. P. 492.

old religion to the new age, which affected not only the political and social life of the Jews, but also brought through progress in research and through discoveries more particularly in the realm of natural science an entirely new and changed attitude towards life and toward's man's relations to the universe. Jews became affected by the spirit of the age precisely and to the same degree as were their fellows in the Christian Church. All the sects of Christianity have during the past century felt the need to set their house in order, to meet the results gleaned in the fields of geology and biology, which revealed the great age of the world and an order in the evolution of life on this planet entirely different from the view which had for so long been traditionally accepted."

"There is not the lightest warrant, however, for assuming that the prejudice against Jews in any country is due to their being a separate nationality. The political Zionists cannot lay this flattering unction to their souls. They are guilty of self-deception in offering such an explanation. For we must bear in mind that anti-Semitism, as one of the many prejudices of which the world is full and which has been a factor in making converts to Zionism in different countries, has an old, though not an honorable, lineage. It may be traced back to the days of Pharaoh before the Jews were a nation, and it crops out in Roman days after they ceased to be one."

"Now at bottom what does all this social prejudice amount to except that we do not like people who are different from us, who do not believe the same things; do not speak the same language; do not dress in the same way; who have different kinds of names, different looks, differently-shaped heads of noses, who have not our manners, who act differently. Social prejudice may also arise from fear of competition, but whatever its cause or its nature, it canot be overcome by succumbing to it, and still less by admitting its justification, as the Zionists unwittingly do in proclaming to the world that the Jews are a separate substance in the body politic in which the ylive. It is starting at the wrong end to take as one's guide for direction the outburst of those whose anti-Semitism is merely an index of a general reactionary frame of mind. It is not accidental that Treitschke, the soul of the anti-Semetic movement in Germany, was also the one who interpreted the nationalistic trend of Germany in the narrowest spirit, the spirit which lead to the predominance of Prussia and Prussian militarism and eventually brought with it the sad downfall of what was once a great nation—and what, we all hope, may again become a nation worthy of the traditions which it had established before entering upon a wrong path. Anti-Semitism because it was reactionary and placed the over-emphasis on nationality, was one of the factors that led to the moral collapse of Germany. In other countries, like Austria and France, those who took up the cry of anti-Semitism were likewise those who were found on the

side of the reactionaries, in league with the forces opposed to the spirit of the age wihch ever since the days of Napoleon had been moving towards political liberalism. Surely in view of all this it is the height of absurdity to take the existence of social, or, if you choose, even racial prejudice—though it assumes the proportions of a movement—as a point of departure for the interpretation of the position of the Jews in the world that involves, among other things, as will presently be shown, a misreading of their entire history since the time that they ceased to be a nation in any real sense of the word. It is indeed one of the main charges to be brought against the political Zionists that they entirely neglect this historical factor—in many cases, I believe, through ignorance—in setting up their claim that the Jews, despite the evidence to the contrary, are still a nation, and that the reconstitution of them as a national entity furnishes the only logical solution for what is called the "Jewish Question."

THE FOLLOWING TWO QUOTATIONS ARE TAKEN FROM PROF. BOAS' INTERESTING ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED IN THE ATLANTIC MAGAZINE FIVE YEARS AGO.*

"Jews have not troubled themselves to justify on any rational ground, the tenacious fight of their race against the storms of nineteen centuries of persecution. The fight has been its own justification. Obviously, a race that has endured what theirs has withstood must have some glorious mission to perform; to define that mission would be an element of weakness for their enemies would then have a chance to meet them on the ground of reason, where their peculiar virtues, tenacity, single mindedness and pliant heroism, would avail them nothing."

"The results of this clanishness are paradoxical. For instance the average Jew is sure that the chief reason why anti-Semitism is everywhere ready to show its ugly head, is jealousy of the splendid history and extraordinary business ability of the race. At the same time, he subconsciously assumes the inferiority which has long been attributed to him, covering his feelings, however, by uncalled for justification and bitter opposition to all criticism." This same clanishness makes it impossible for the Jew to be at ease with the world. "He is introspective and suspicious, often unhappy, always sure that, for good or ill, he is a marked man among men."

MR. KOVEN, A JEWISH WRITER AND ARTIST, VISITED THE ZIONIST COLONIES IN PALESTINE. THERE IS NOTHING SUGGESTIVE OF THE EXAGGERATED AND FALSE IDEALISM OF THE ZIONIST WRITERS IN HIS FRANK AND REALISTIC DESCRIPTION.

"I visited Saffat on Mt. Morion. The provincialism, the ignorance, and the filth are appalling. People live there in a state of religious antiquity, that does not permit of any sort of freedom or development. The God of Israel has become a tangible thing

* The problem of American Jadaism, Atlantic Feb. 1917. Prof. Boas' (who is a Jew) aroused much adverse and bitter criticism from some Jews in this country at the appearance of this article.

to them, a fetish, and amulet to carry abouut their necks.

The colonists of Galilee are more modern, but the indifference with which they tolerate the barbarous customs of the fanatics, with the highest approval from many of our pioneers as a method of race preservation, showed me that fruit of the day's planting will be stale and sour."

MISS MARION WEINSTEIN, AN AVOWED ZIONIST, AND FOR A TIME CORRESPONDENT OF THE NEW YORK EVENING GLOBE IN PALESTINE, IN HER EFFORT TO BE FAIR AND TRUTHFUL, COULD NOT BUT ADMIT SOME SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES WHICH CONFRONT ZIONISM IN PALESTINE, AS WITNESS THE FOLLOWING QUOTATION FROM THE GLOBE IN ITS ISSUE OF MAY 26, 1919:

"Everywhere in Palestine there is foreign influence—French, British, as well as German, according to the school in Palestine or the University abroad that the native Jew or Jewess attended. I searched in vain for a Palestinian Jew, a new type in the younger generation of either sex. I met only Russian, English, French, German and other types of European Jews."

III. WHAT SYRIAN WRITERS SAY ABOUT ZIONISM

"....Palestine is an integral part of great faiths. The majority of its present inhabitants are non-Jews. Therefore, for any European Powers, or Powers, to favor the Jews above the other elements of the population by paving the way for Jewish supremacy in Palestine and for its ultimate severance from Syria and its organization as a Jewish state, would be an act of violent injustice to its non-Jewish inhabitants and an irremovable cause for future troubles. It would revive the feuds of biblical times between Jews and Gentiles, and thus empasize religious and racial division in a country which sorely needs peace and unity."

Rihbany,* "America Save the Near East," p. 118.

REFERRING TO THE INTERVIEW WHICH THE PALESTINIAN ARAB DELEGATION HAD WITH MR. CHURCHILL IN LONDON, THE "ALEPHBA", AN ARABIC PAPER PUBLISHED IN DAMASCUS SAID IN AN EDITORIAL WHICH WAS REPRINTED IN MIRAT-UL-GHARB (NEW YORK) IN ITS ISSUE FOR OCTOBER 18, 1921:

"The Palestinian Commission, now in London, on meeting one of the English statesmen (Referring to Mr. Churchill) was addressed with the following words which we taxed ourself in vain to understand: 'I am surprised that you demand of England to annul a promise which it made with the Zionists when you ask it at the same time to fulfill another promise made with King Husein'.

"God save us from the statesmen of to-day who sprang from the simple people, but when fortune smiled on them and the reins of power fell into their hands they began to sell and buy nations with a mere promise.

"What care the Palestinians for the promises of England to King Hussein or to the Zionists? Did England assume the attitude of the invader when it entered the great World War that now it promises and grants the Turkish lands even before it takes possession? Palestine is also among the countries which were liberated without any conditions and the British government should treat it as it treated countries on whose behalf it assumed the mandate; I mean that it organizes its government on the basis wihch its people desire under its guidance and observation. The Palestinians consider themselves an Arab national entity which was forceably separated from the confederation of the Arab nations, and that therefore no one has a right to give it away. We ask that it be treated as its sister nation, Mesopotamia, was treated, for there England did not consider any precedent promises or treaties entered upon with King Husein, but rather consulted its people and left the matter to them, and thus the Mesopotamian

* Rev. Abraham Rihbany is a unitarian, Syrian minister in Brookline, Mass. and has done much in the way of elucidating the Zionist problem and warning of its danger in this country. In the year 1919 he was sent as a delegate to the Paris Conference on behalf of the New Syria National League and the Palestinian Anti-Zionist Society.

problem was solved.

"We believed and still believe in the democracy of the British people and their love of justice but we cannot understand their persistence or rather the persistence of their government in its opposition of the laws of nature and history. The Jewish nation, with all its money and men, cannot revoke the past nor annihilate a nation to erect a new one on its ruins."

"No one, not even the ultra-Zionist, will suppose that it will be possible for the Jews to impose their own culture on their Syrian and Arab Neighbors."*

"They shall not receive even a drink of the Jordan River; they shall not possess it, so long as the bells of the Arabic churches reverberates, or the shadows of the Arabic minarets move across its clear waters."*

WHEN SIR HERBERT SAMUEL, THE ENGLISH (JEWISH) GOVERNOR OF PALESTINE CHALLENGED THE REPRESENTATIVE NATURE OF THE 4th PALESTINIAN CONGRESS MERAT-EL-SHERK, AN ABLE AND LIBERAL ARABIC PAPER IN PALESTINE, WHICH PRINTS ONE OF ITS PAGES IN ENGLISH, APTLY REMARKED:

"The constitutional question which seems to bother our friends, the Zionists, to such a degree is hardly taken seriously as the real reason for their opposition. They want themselves to believe that the country is beginning to feel friendly toward them. No greater illusion could be harbored. And whether this antagonism to the Zionsits is exprest through constitutional means by duly elected representatives, or merely at random and by occasional outbursts of the people's opinion, it is none the less real and quite apparent to any one who takes the trouble to look around him.

"Of course, if this Conference was a Jewish affair, it would have been viewed quite differently. When the Zionist organization started it merely represented a dozen people or more. Yet these people began to ask things quite freely in the name of all the Jews. Again, we doubt whether even to-day Zionism represents the majority opinion of all the Jews in the world. Yet the leaders of this organization—all clever propagandists—never admit that they do not speak in the name of ancient as well as modern Jewry!

"We repeat again, if anybody is in doubt as to what the country really wishes,—why not take the trouble and get a direct answer."

MR. SHIBLY JAMAL, A PALESTINIAN JOURNALIST, AT PRESENT, SECRETARY OF THE PALESTINIAN-ARAB COMMISSION IN EUROPE, ASSURED MR. CHURCHILL, BRITAIN'S COLONIAL SECRETARY, IN AN INTERVIEW WITH HIM WHICH APPEARED IN THE ARABIC PAPER "PHILISTEEN", PUBLISHED IN PALESTINE THAT—

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* The Holy Land: Whose to have and to hold. By Ameen Rihani. The Bookman, Sept. 1917. (Mr. Rihani is an able Syrian writer who has written extensively in the English language.)

* Al-Istiklal-ul-Arabi. The article entitled "From an Arab to the Zionists", appeared in Mirat-ul Gharb, New York, March 3rd, 1919.

"We do not hate the Jews, for we have lived with them before the war in perfect harmony. But we hate the Zionist movement, which aims to make of this country a Jewish kingdom."I ment, which aims to make of this country a Jewish kingdom."*

* This quotation and the above one appeared in the Literary Digest from which they are taken. (April 16, 1921 and July 9, 1921.)

SOME FACTS ABOUT ZIONISM

1. MODERN ZIONISM IS A REACTION AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM, AND LIKE IT IS BORN OF RESENTMENT, PRIDE AND PREJUDICE.

2. ZIONISM IS A STUMBLING BLOCK IN THE PATH OF LIBERAL INTERNATIONALISM.

3. ZIONISM IS ONE INSTANCE OF THE PERSISTENCE OF OLD PRE-WAR POLITICS UNDER THE NEW POST-WAR ORDER.

4. ZIONISM IS IN APPEARANCE PSEUDO-LIBERAL, BUT IN REALITY IT IS REACTIONARY.

5. ZIONISM IS A SOURCE OF TROUBLE AND ENMITY BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

6. ZIONISM, IF ALLOWED TO BE FOSTERED IN PALESTINE, WILL MAKE OF THE NEAR EAST A SECOND BALKANS.

7. ZIONISM CANNOT SOLVE "THE JEWISH PROBLEM", BUT INSTEAD WILL ADD A NEW CHAPTER TO THAT PROBLEM AND A NEW TROUBLE TO THIS WEARY TROUBLE-RIDDEN WORLD.

8. PALESTINE IS TOO SMALL TO REALIZE THE NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE JEWS, TOO STERILE TO SUPPORT A LARGE NUMBER OF THEM, TO REMOTE FROM THE CENTERS OF INDUSTRY TO MAKE IT A FAVORABLE COLONIZING CENTER.

9. THE ZIONIST COLONIES IN PALESTINE COULD NOT HAVE SUCCEEDED WITHOUT THE CHARITABLE ASSISTANCE FROM JEWRY ALL OVER THE WORLD. UP TO THE PRESENT THEY ARE NOT SELF SUPPORTING, IN SPITE OF IMMUNITIES ENJOYED EVEN UNDER THE TURKISH REGIME. SEVERAL IMMIGRANTS WHO HAVE BEEN RECENTLY BROUGHT TO PALESTINE BY THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION HAVE AWAKENED TO THE ECONOMIC FALLACY OF ZIONISM AND LEFT THE COUNTRY IN DISAPPOINTMENT. CONTRACTS FOR PUBLIC WORKS HAVE BEEN MOSTLY AWARDED TO ZIONISTS. THESE CONTRACTS ARE PAID FOR BY TAXES, 90% OF WHICH COME FROM NON-JEWISH PALESTINIANS

10. THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE PRESENTS MANY ANOMILIES UNPARALLELED IN HISTORY:

   a. IT IS A GOVERNMENT OF FOREIGNERS, BY FOREIGNERS, FOR FOREIGNERS.

   b. IT IS A GOOVERNMENT BASED ON A RELIGIOUS CLAIM, YET PURPORTS TO BE MODERN.

   c. IT IS A MANDATE IN THE NAME OF A PEOPLE SCATTERED IN EVERY COUNTRY UNDER THE SUN, BUT NOT ONE HALF OF ONE PER CENT OF WHOM ARE IN THE LAND WHICH IS SUPPOSED TO BE THEIR HOME-LAND.

   d. THE DESTINY OF A WHOLE VIRILE NATION IS JEOPARDIZED, AND ITS DEVELOPMENT ARRESTED TO MAKE POSSIBLE THE REALIZATION OF A REACTIONAREY JEWISH DOCTRINE, SPURNED BY ALL LIBERAL MINDED JEWS.

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